FBIS-NES-88-113 13 June 1988

ARAB AFRICA

I have nothing to add, except to tell you: Let us be united until victory. And to enter your temple as they entered it before, and visit with destruction all that fall into their power. [Koranic verse]

Al-Qadhdhafi Speech

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[Speech by Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi at the emergency General People's Congress in Tripoli—live]

[Text] In the name of God. Allow me brothers to speak to you for a short period. I will begin by congratulating the masses of the free Libyan Arab people, the people's conferences, and the people's committees and their general meeting within the General People's Congress—the meeting of the secretaries of the people's, and vocational conferences, the trade unions and the associations. I congratulate them on issuing this historic document, which concerns not only Libyans, but will please every man looking forward to liberation from oppression and exploitation. Allow me also to express my profound regret, for I have failed a second time to persuade Libyans to abolish capital punishment. But, I pledge to struggle for the abolition of the death penalty in the Libyan Jamahiriyah [applause].

After having listened to this historic document I would like to add, in my capacity as a jamahiri citizen with the right to participate in making any additions, the following words: I want the document to be named the Great Green Document on Human Rights in the Era of the Masses [jamahir] [applause]. In actual fact, it is inevitable that I should be truthful by saying that I have heard this expression from a secretary of one of the international or pan-Arab conferences who said it in this hall [applause]. He mentioned this name and spoke out the name of the Great Green Document. I second this addition.

Reviewing this document, I believe that it needs deep awareness at an international level. It is not easy to understand and, perhaps, to benefit from, unless there is deep awareness in understanding this document. Thus we, all the free Libyan Arabs who have voiced this call, should from today, send emissaries to all parts of the world to propagate and explain this document. This document should enrich awareness of human rights and duties.

From today, we must send out official messages with missionary delegations, to all parts of the world, to all governments where oppressive and exploitive conditions are to be found, which contradict this historic document. We will mention them.

I want to stress to the world that this document is issued on the 40th anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Forty years ago this UN Declaration of Human Rights was issued and on this very anniversary we have decided, as a people, to promulgate this Great Green Document in order to affirm that the Declaration of Human Rights was a positive and important step in the last 40 years. However, it dealt with traditional rights, in accordance with the traditional concept of government theory based on oppression and exploitation, where you find a government and a people, a ruler and a ruled, a wage earner and an employer, a master and a servant, masters and slaves.

The dynamic forces of good in the world issued the Declaration of Human Rights in order to defend man's natural rights in the light of government theory, and therefore we find the declaration extremely short on our own concept of human rights 40 years later, when we are on the threshold of a new era, the era of the masses.

From today this Declaration of Human Rights will be shelved. It will be regarded as a traditional declaration because the masses marching toward power will, during their march, take over all the opportunities which were in the hands of rulers under whom the masses called for justice, equality, and consideration of their natural rights. These masses do not now accept stopping with that paper issued 40 years ago. This is the difference between the Great Green Document on Human Rights in the Era of the Masses and the UN Declaration of Human Rights issued 40 years ago. Someone who has not understood jamahiri theory and who has not had the opportunity of acquiring jamahiri culture, misunderstands this document. This is the cause of the objections and ambiguities I heard in the speeches made by some delegations, particularly the brother representatives from Amnesty International who call for matters in the UN Human Rights Declaration that have been transcended by the historic document. According to traditional government theory, human rights revolved around the right of man to elections, the right of women to elections on the base of equality with man; the election of whoever ruled them.

We are now in the era of the masses. The natural right is that you govern yourself by yourself. Look at the difference between the conventional document and the modern document of the era of the masses. In the Jamahiriyah, we cannot now establish human rights and allow the election of another, because now this human being can rule himself by himself, without the need to elect another human being. In the document, the document pronouncing human rights, there existed at that time the wage laborer, still under the shadow of governmental theory, the wage laborer. He had the right; the laborer had the right to strike in protest against the inadequacy of his wage. Now, in conventional societies they consider among the basic rights of a human being the right to strike. In the era of the masses, in the system of the masses, there is no employer or government for whom this worker works and against whom he would protest by striking. He rules himself by himself; he administers the productive establishment by himself; or he rules himself by himself, by virtue of his own effort or of a partnership

FBIS-NES-88-113 13 June 1988

ARAB AFRICA

with another. He does not strike by withholding his labor. There is no—I mean—we would become a (?laughing stock) if we decided that it is the worker's right to strike. Strike against whom? The worker is now presumed to be a partner in production, and he administers this establishment by way of a popular, workers' administration. The producers administer the establishments in which they work and the partners are equal partners, and he who works for himself produces for himself.

Thus, there is a great difference and a dangerous transformation between the era in which human rights emerged and the era of which we are on the threshold: That is, the era of the masses where workers have been transformed from wage laborers into partners. What is now requested is that the worker become a partner and not remain a wage laborer who has the right to strike against his employer. That is basically rejected. The employer is rejected and is anti-freedom. A human being should not be permitted to be a wage laborer. You may hire a car or a typewriter, but you cannot hire a human being. We should not approve of a man being hired and having the right—as if he is an animal—to strike against the person who hired him because the wage is small. This is why I say that this document requires awareness from the living forces, even in the Jamahiriyah, which wants to propogate this document all over the world.

I would like to reaffirm that the backbone of this document is man's natural rights—something which the international Declaration of Human Rights, which was made 40 years ago, did not absorb or envisage or defend, because it had not yet been thought. The Declaration of Human Rights dealt with the situation that existed then, an oppressive and exploitive situation, but it wanted to maintain a minimum limit of human rights under the auspices of government theory—the theory of oppression and exploitation.

The essence of this document is the right of man to his sweat—the abolition of wages. This document rejects the view—as the jamahiri stipulates—that everywhere in the world man can be hired. Why is man in jamahiri society something that cannot be hired? Because jamahiri society, by virtue of the popular revolution, has become free. Its sons have become free and thus have become capable of sitting in the open air and deciding their own rights and declaring them. When he is free without being controlled by a government and without being represented by a deputy; when his rights are not exercised by proxy; when he is not exploited by an owner; and when he is free politically and socially and has his own destiny in his own hands—then he can declare his rights freely.

Man's natural right is to what he gets from his own toil—his sweat and his effort. Producers should be partners in the production and not hired. This is what we want to tell the world and declare today: the natural, basic, and sacred right of man is to his own toil and sweat. Now, such effort is being plundered everywhere in the world.

The toil is being taken away. The reward from such toil is being transformed into surplus value and more hours of overtime and money and commodities are taken away by the owner of the work. The rights of man, which the International Declaration of Human Rights spoke about are superficial, but at that time were useful. But, we are now standing on the threshold of the era of the masses and heading toward fundamental, firm, and natural rights.

We cannot talk about man's right to strike and forget his fundamental right not to be hired to an owner so that he can have the right to strike against him. Thus I say that this document needs awareness by the forces which stand to benefit from it throughout the world.

The second fundamental right of man, which like his sweat and toil, should not be conceded, is the right to self-determination. Every man, people, and nation have a natural right to self-determination. Any attempt to prevent man, people, or a nation from determining their destiny the way they want should be resisted most ferociously, and this is the sacred struggle. We want to open the eyes of the world to the basic rights which were ignored by the international Declaration of Human Rights under the auspices of a backward and traditional era, and which in classical and theoretical governmentruled circumstances declare that there should be ruler and ruled, master and servant, and owner and hired hand. But we reject the ruler, the master, the owner. All the resources that are in the hands of the ruler, the master, and the owner should be in the hands of the ordinary citizen.

As the Soviet delegate said yesterday when he spoke to you here, either revolution should present beneficial and new values and qualities to the ordinary man, or it will not be a revolution. This is the true definition. Here the revolution presents new values and merits for the ordinary citizen. The ordinary man did not enjoy authority, did not have the right to self-determination, or the right to reap the benefit of his effort and toil. The popular jamahiri revolution here-which should spread throughout the world and which we will work to spread so that man can determine his own destiny and reap his own effort, as these are the rights which we should declare to the world and propagate as from today-acknowledges that the natural, basic, and fixed rights of man which should not be conceded are the right of man to benefit from his own toil, and self-determination. Wealth should be restored to the ordinary people, who will use and invest it by their own effort or by way of partnership among them wihtout the presence of an owner of the work. All the ordinary people should sit down and decide their own destiny at popular conferences and within people's committees.

I believe that the backbone of this document and the main difference between it and the traditional international Declaration of Human Rights of 40 years ago, lies in the emphasis on the basic natural rights of man, which

25

ARAB AFRICA

are not his right to strike, or to express his opinion, or to protest against and criticize authority. We fundamentally reject authority. We do not demand the right to criticize authority. Authority in the free jamahiri society should be in our hands. We reject those who rule us. We reject the system of electing someone to rule us. We want to rule ourselves by ourselves, by way of the popular conferences and the people's committees.

I want to note some points of comparison between the traditional Declaration of Human Rights and this Great Green Document, between the conventional era and the era of the masses, and between the theory of rule based on the existence of government and the jamahiri theory, under the auspices of which both the international Declaration of Human Rights and the Great Green Document were issued.

As for the points which the Amensty International representative submitted to you, we in the Jamahiriyah, having gone beyond all these superficialities, should not hesitate from a superficial viewpoint to ratify any of these documents. Henceforth, any of these documents is regarded as signed by the Libyan Jamahiriyah—those documents that he mentioned by name: the optional protocol attached to the international pact regarding political and civil rights. He drew attention to paragraphs 9 and 14 of that pact. This should be taken into consideration. As regards the Jamahiriyah, any of its representatives abroad at these international levels should sign them without hesitation.

On this occasion, we should tell all the governments of the world that unless they demolish prisons and free those prisoners whom we think entered prison not because of their own deviation, but because of the deviation of the exploitative society; those who entered prison because of need, as a result of exploitation; and those who entered prison as a result of rebellion against the repression practiced against them. [sentence as heard] In the United States there are tens of thousands of prisoners, but they are black, why? Thus, deviation is not among the blacks. It is the deviation of a society which differentiates between black and white. As a result of racial discrimination in the United States, and as a result of poverty and need, they were compelled to commit practices which are deemed criminal by that government. They were put in prison and transferred to the death chamber. Thus, today we have the right to appoint ourselves advocate for all those in prison in the world and to strongly defend them. Our case is strong and the case of those governments is weak because they have wasted thousands of those people as a result of repression and exploitation.

Most of the world's prisoners are divided into two categories: political prisoners and ordinary criminals. Concerning the political category—this is a sign of the march of the masses toward power. If a country is ruled by an individual, the other individuals have the right to aspire to the power enjoyed by one individual. This must

not lead a person to jail. This is a natural orientation, to attain the jamhiri society where everybody has power. If a party rules, other parties have the right to contest the power held by it and to share this power with it. If matters reach the point of a group of parties ruling in a front or an alliance, then other fronts have the right to struggle, march with, and share power with the other fronts.

If only one group of people rule, then others have the right to aspire to power and to be partners in it. These attempts by an individual, or broad masses, to march toward power are considered to be rebellion, conspiracy and treason. Thus, even before establishing people's power, we have pardoned people here. We found a justification for it. If an individual rules, then someone would say: Why should I not rule? If a group of officers rule, then another group of officers say: Why should we not rule? These are logical justifications.

But once the people take power, then plotting begins with attempts to usurp power and wealth from the people; to take away from every individual his natural right to the fruits of his own efforts and his right to self-determination. Therefore, all political prisoners in the world express the new phenomenon, the jamahiri phenomenon. They are vanguards in the era of the masses. They want to have power and those after them to have power, until everybody has power. The base must reach the summit, and the continuous struggle which is now underway will not stop midway. The pyramidal shape is bound to become linear with the arrival of the base to the summit of power. Then, it will become circular with the establishment of people's congresses and people's committees, like these circles now in front of me in this hall, Freedom Hall.

We urge all the governments of the world that have political prisoners to release them and review their cases because they are victims of oppression—the oppression that imposes a group of individuals in power and deprives the rest. All political prisoners are victims of oppression in the world because the theory now in force is the theory of oppression and exploitation.

Another category of prisoners in the world try to attain their right to the wealth of their country. They want the fruits of their efforts to return to them; they want to enjoy the fruit of their efforts. But exploitation deprives them of this. They are considered to be thieves, robbers, highwaymen, guilty of assault and killing, because they want to take over wealth. This wealth is in fact their's. The thief is the feudalist, the exploiter who took over this wealth. All these prisoners are in fact innocent. The crime is not their's. It is that of the society which sanctions exploitation. They are the victims of the natural struggle, so that mankind can enjoy the fruits of his effort. They are victims of exploitation! This is the second category of prisoners in the world. Normal crimes are the result of unjust relationships. A black who kills a white in the United States is not a criminal. The society

FBIS-NES-88-113 13 June 1988

ARAB AFRICA

which sanctions racial separation is responsible. This black is an American who considers the United States to be his country. So how is it that he cannot enjoy his rights on an equal footing with that other person, even if he were white? Racism is criminal. The state which institutionalizes this racist regime is criminal. It is the one which should be tried and put in prison and it is the one which should be executed. [applause]

These calls will, in the end, triumph. This Green Document will, in the end, become an international constitution. This stems not only from self-confidence, as far as we are concerned, but the march of history and human civilization tells us this. They are now following the religion of the Messiah whom they tried to kill and whom they thought they had crucified. It was under the shadow of the Roman state, which used to rule the Middle and Far East—up to Europe—that the Messiah was persecuted. It was there where they decided to kill him because he was a pariah, an infidel, a shepherd, and poor. They accused him of being a charlatan and of wanting to corrupt the people. They conspired against him, and they conscripted one of his disciples, No 13. That is why Europe, Europe today and the entire Christian world, which conscripted No 13, in order to eliminate this saint, this prophet, now consider the number 13 to be a bad omen! Why? Because Disciple No 13 was the one who informed them of the whereabouts of the Messiah that night. They thought that they had arrested him and killed him. Can you imagine? The nations which had conspired with No 13 in order to kill the Messiah have now come to hate the number 13! After this persecuted one, this poor one, this unfortunate one, whom they conspired against and conscripted one of his disciples—had triumphed—is this [word indistinct], to cross out the number 13 in Europe. We do not have that because we did not conspire against the Messiah and, consequently, we do not have a problem with the number 13. [Al-Qadhdhafi laughs and is applauded]

So the calls which come from the East, from these poor countries, from the shepherds, the poor, the persecuted, the oppressed, and those whom others want to kill and hang, will ultimately triumph. The day will come when there will be a generation who will adopt the Third World theory and the Green Book and curse the imperialists who did that, just as Europe now curses Disciple No 13.

We want on this historic day—the day when the international document, the Great Green Document on Human Rights in the Era of the Masses, has been issued—to provide the world with astonishing facts. I have not made these up myself, but they were presented to me in reports from reliable sources. They show the ugliness and heinousness being experienced by man in the United States and Europe. I have before me information and figures, as well as an international bulletin from Amnesty International which contains facts, photographs, and names—proven 100 percent—which make

one shudder. These are practiced by the U.S. Administration against its own citizens, especially the blacks. Thus, Amnesty International wrote that the death penalty in the United States is racially motivated and unjust and in violation of international agreements. Amnesty International added that in the United States there are a record number of prisoners on death row. And that there is an island called Devil Island, which is crowded with prisoners who have been placed in jails by the U.S. Administration. The majority of these prisoners are blacks.

I am reading from the Amnesty International bulletin. This bulletin is not Libyan. This bulletin produced by an international organization is full of ugly information and photographs. Amnesty International says that there are savage executions by the electric chair, gas, poison, and hanging, of young people and those who suffer from psychological illnesses. This is internationally banned. This means that the U.S. Administration hangs young people who have not reached the legal age, 18, and executes those who are psychologically ill if they commit a crime. It executes women, even pregnant women, whose execution is banned and whose execution should be postponed until they have given birth. This document shows the victims of such executions, by the electric chair, gas, poison, injection. It shows the pregnant women and the psychologically ill who were executed. The document gives their names and addresses. It shows that they were either blacks or from the minorities. Those executions were carried out as a result of racial discrimination. The document shows the young people-children who were 16-who were executed. It shows all these in pictures. The document shows the crimes which they were compelled to commit as a result of exploitation and oppression. But, nevertheless, they were executed. The document shows a picture of the electric chair, the gas chamber, the killer injections.

This is a happy black family. [video shows Al-Qadhdhafi turning page of document] The husband and wife are laughing; the children are happy and laughing. The husband was executed. He was sentenced to death. He feared for his family. He was compelled to kill his family so that they would not suffer hunger after him. That used to be a happy family, but the matter ended in tragedy. That was caused by life in the United States: oppression and exploitation. A diabolical society, which has no relationship with humanity. It has no relationship even with the era in which the international Declaration of Human Rights was issued some 40 years ago. This is why Amnesty International is requesting and begging the U.S. Administration to observe the minimum limit of humanity and apply, at the very minimum, the international Declaration of Human Rights.

It was inevitable that this document was translated into several languages, but as from today we will participate in its translation into all languages so that the United States—this devil which practices the ugliest crimes

27 ARAB AFRICA

against man, especially those who belong to other nationalities, and this devil who alleges that it speaks for human rights while deceiving the world—can be silenced. The United States talks about human rights while it annihilates and executes pregnant women, children, and those suffering from psychological illnesses. Its executions are racially and sexually biased. All these executions are in defense of racism. People are executed for the simplest of crimes. The document contains a picture of the killer injection, the electric chair, the gas chamber, and names of the people who were executed. This is information which is totally verified and issued by this neutral organization. I want to tell the Amnesty International representative here to enlist me as a subscriber to the organization, in order to be one of its members. [applause]

The other information this documents contains is very frightening. In New York, this document says, there are 24,000 cells, all of which are filled with inmates. The majority of these inmates are either colored or blacks. This means that one of the United States has 24,000 cells, each housing one person. Devil's Island, which is located north of New York, contains the largest U.S. prison complex, which houses 10,000 prisoners. In this state alone, every year more than 250,000 people are arrested. Companies have been established in the United States and Western Europe trading in prisoners; companies that undertake the imprisonment and maintenance of inmates in return for money. This operation has become a flourishing business in the United States. These companies were first set up in Los Angeles, California. These are irrefutable facts. They are very frightening as far as the world's conscience is concerned.

There is information in this document relating to fundamental human rights, not to those so-called rights in which they trade. Experiments are conducted on prisoners in the United States and Britain. There is also unemployment. The report says that there are more than 100 million unemployed in the industrial countries. The right to work is one of the fundamental human rights. The authorities should find employment for the person first, then acknowledge his right to strike. In their countries, however, a person cannot find employment, let alone strike. Poverty is another problem. In the United States and other Western countries, there are 33 million people living below the poverty line, including 11 million children. In these countries, each citizen pays 70 percent of his income in taxes for the manufacture of weapons.

Then there is the arms trade, which spreads war throughout the world and finds flourishing markets for this commodity produced by the exploiting companies at the expense of mankind. People are being killed by these weapons in return for the money obtained from exporting these arms. Arms sales have amounted to 15.5 billion [currency not specified]. The report says that 60 percent of France's weapons production is exported. In return, France received \$4 billion annually. Fifteen percent of

the arms purchases by Third World countries come from France, and \$4 billion of France's income results from the sale of weapons. In this case, this state will continue to manufacture the means of destruction in order to obtain hard currency.

The report says that blacks in Britain are treated like 3d-class and sometimes 4th-class human beings. They are allocated all the dirty jobs and jobs constituting health hazards without having the right to refuse because otherwise they will not find a job to keep themselves alive. We demand from these governments-and will send delegations and messages to all parts of the worldthe abolition of execution by the electric chair, injection, or gas, and the abolition of hard labor and imprisonment that degrades the human spirit, long-term imprisonment. In the United States they may sentence a 50-year-old man, for example, to 100 years in prison. This is what the court says. The judge issues his verdict by saying: We have sentenced you to 100 years in prison. The judge knows that the man will not live that long, but this is to harm the person's spirit, to break and degrade it at the very moment the verdict is announced. Look at this method! A U.S. citizen who used to work in Libya was regarded as having violated orders by Reagan. He is 60 years old and he was sentenced to 95 years in prison. His name is known; all the international press wrote about him. Why do they sentence him to 95 years in prison when he is 60 years old, knowing that he will not live that long? Their intention was to insult him and to harm his spirit at the very moment sentence was passed.

A human's right is his right to work. We demand that the United States and the Western countries take care of the poor and unemployed, find work for man. This is his right: to live and remain alive. His right to work means his right to live, not his right to die. This is denied to the human.

By this document, by setting up the international center and forming the world's peoples front hostile to imperialism and fascism, to racism and Zionism—which is composed of all free peoples and revolutionary governments of the world, and also of the liberation movements and revolutionary individuals—the entire Devil's Island, which is in the United States and not the only island of that name north of New York, will be exposed, and it will be exposed from within. Crimes more abominable than those committed by Hitler will be revealed. We will reval to the world that the U.S. Administration is an evil mill that grinds human beings, consuming the fruits of their efforts, grinding their bones, and sucking their blood to preserve imperialism, which threatens all peoples.

The peoples who feel this threat are forced to unite their efforts in a single world front to contain and eliminate this evil. Hence, the United States is exerting every effort to check this march of the peoples, and particularly their vanguards. It is throwing all its weight behind racist Zionism in Palestine to eliminate the people of Palestine and the peoples backing them, such as the Lebanese,

FBIS-NES-88-113 13 June 1988

ARAB AFRICA

Syrians, Jordanians, and Egyptians. It was able to exclude Egypt from the support and backing of the Palestinian people by force. At present, it is doing its utmost, day and night, to prevent the Lebanese people from supporting the Palestinian people. It is preparing for the destruction of Syria so that it will finish this adversary on the northern front.

All of this is because of U.S. policy, arms, and decisions. It is an evil mill intending to grind all peoples who seek liberation. For if the peoples were liberated, there would be no plants from which this poisonous insect could feed. If the people were liberated, how would imperialism feed itself? Its evil and cancerous roots spread everywhere. It wants to build bases and passages and to stretch its legs into the Gulf of Sidra. This is an octopus, a cancer reaching to the Gulf of Sidra and to the Indian Ocean on Diego Garcia. It wants to reach the Philippines, the stars, and the planets. Look at this cancer. All the peoples have been harmed by this cancer and it is their right to strike it anywhere.

When the Philippines fights it is not at Libya's instigation. They talk about the New People's Army and its relations with Libya. What relations does it have with Libya? Their cause is Libya's concern because there is a cancer extending to the Philippines and Libya wants to eradicate it. The Japanese Red Army; they say what has this Army got to do with Libya? This Army—the Japanese people—want to avenge themselves. Hiroshima. and Nagasaki, the two cities the United States destroyed with atomic bombs. This Red Army was created by that atomic exlosiion in Hiroshima. These are the sons of the Japanese people avenging that incident. The United States avenged itself by attacking Japan with atomic bombs after Japan had attacked Pearl Harbor. As a result of that attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States sped up the manufacture of the atomic bomb. It wanted to punish Japan, so it hit Japan with these bombs, but the violence the United States used in its attempt to punish Japan gave birth to the Japanese Red Army to avenge that atomic strike. The Japanese Red Army existed before we came to power, before the revolution was staged in Libya. Hiroshima was hit before the revolution was staged in Libya and before Libya became independent. They want to falsify the facts. All peoples, including the U.S. people, have suffered from this hellish mill. No U.S. official representative can boast about human rights. All people who happen to be sitting in a hall when such a representative begins to speak about human rights should leave the hall or hit him with shoes, if they have shoes, at the very moment he, the U.S. representative, begins to talk about human rights. [applause] Who enables racism to extend itself from South Africa against the confrontation states and the people of Namibia? We have here with us the representative of the Namibian people [applause], the hero Nujoma. This man suffers from U.S. oppression. He is fighting South Africa, but U.S. imperialism is behind South Africa. U.S. imperialism does not want to see a new people free. [applause]

His children, his people, and himself are victims of the U.S. denial of a people's right to live freely and independently on the land of their fathers and grandfathers. At his side is Yasir 'Arafat, who is homeless and pursued [applause] He and his people are victims of the U.S. imperialist policy because the United States does not want a free people on Palestinian soil from the river to the sea. The United States wants a foothold, a cat's claw, a spearhead, a bridgehead in what is called Israel, which is falsely and maliciously present on the Palestinian soil, on the debris of the Palestinian people. When he fights against the United States for self-defense, he is called a terrorist. Why should he fight against the United States? Why does the United States exterminate this people? When Nujoma fights against the United States, he is called a terrorist, but who is the terrorist? It is the one who murdered his people, made them homeless, and prevented them from enjoying independence. The sons of Hiroshima will revenge Hiroshima. The United States calls this terrorism.

Terrorism must be declared beginning today, and since our argument is strong, we must convince the world of this. There is only one terrorism, which is the official state terrorism practiced by the United States, practiced by Zionism in Palestine. Terrorism is the official terrorism carried out by a powerful state against another state or group. Groups or individuals demanding their rights and being oppressed by a more powerful force; this is terrorism. Hijacking, hostage-taking, murder, etcetera; these are loathsome, hated crimes to which we are opposed, but they are simply crimes, like robbery, assault, banditry, kidnapping, etcetera. These are crimes. Terrorism, however, means the stronger terrorizing the weaker. These weak people who currently are fighting; one cannot call their actions terrorism. Terrorism comes from someone strong imposing himself on someone weak, terrorizing him psychologically or physically, by military or economic force, by psychological warfare. What is being practiced by the United States and the Zionist entity is terrorism. We should not have any other definition of terrorism apart form this. We will convince the world of this.

Hitler used to think that he would achieve victory. He was an oppressor and his force was the most powerful on Earth, but the peoples allied against him and he came to an end. The United States now is as tyrannical as Hitler. It believes it is the strongest, but power of this sort is weakness in itself. It will come to an end; this is inevitable. Let the United States say what it likes. Let it say that this is terrorism. [applause]

Have I been too fast for the interpreter? He has not asked me to slow down a little. I want to conclude because the people are tired. I am pleased with the abolishment of hard labor and very pleased with the fact that the Libyan people have abolished this hated punishment. [applause] I am pleased to see that the Libyan people have narrowed imprisonment to a minimum, as in this historic

FBIS-NES-88-113 13 June 1988

ARAB AFRICA

document the Libyan people have stated that imprisonment will be imposed on the person whose freedom may constitute a danger or corruption to others. That is all. Any person whose freedom does not constitute a danger or corruption to others will not be imprisoned. This is the minimum for the application of prison punishment. This is a great victory for freedom. This is because in the past—including prisons in Libya and until the issuance of this document—prisons used to have a wide margin. They were not confined to those whose freedom constituted a danger or corruption to others. Prisons throughout the world, and in Libya as well, used to enjoy such a margin, a margin that should remain no longer.

Also, despite the fact that I am very sorry to see that the Libyan people did not approve the abolition of capital punishment as a whole, I would like to express my happiness that today in Libya the death sentence, following the issuance of this document, is not what it used to be. Now the death sentence, despite the fact that it has not been abolished totally, has become very narrow in its framework and has been nearly abolished. I will struggle, God willing, to see the remainder abolished, too. [applause] The death penalty now will be imposed on a person whose life constitutes a danger or corruption to society. Previously, even in Libya, a person used to be hanged if his liberty constituted a danger, but if only his liberty constitutes a danger, then he can be imprisoned. Now a person whose life constitutes a danger or corruption to the society will be executed. This is the minimum. It will be very rare. I am also pleased that the Libyan people have been able to reaffirm very important issues in this document: the banning of secret activities because such activities are conspiratorial and cannot be justified in a society in which all members exercise authority, are partners in the wealth, and receive training in arms.

What meaning does underground work have in a society in which the people's conferences are held in the open air and decides collectively, what its individuals want? In this document, the Libyan people also have banned conspiracies with foreigners, which is hated, dirty behavior. Those who have done this have fallen to the bottom of ignominy by conspiring against their country with a hostile foreign power. Any man who colludes with a foreign power is a base, dirty man, who brings shame on his family, tribe, people, and nation. He satisfies the enemies. Furthermore, he degrades himself before those enemies with whom he has collaborated.

The Libyan people also have banned the use of force. [Al-Qadhdhafi pauses in his speech, as video shows a number of young girls entering the hall.] We will wait a bit until these buds take their places. [The girls are shown sitting down on the floor in the middle of the hall, to applause. They are instructed to sit still because there are dignitaries behind them, like their Uncles 'Arafat and Nujoma; more applause] The human being in jamahiri society should be free to practice his political, religious, or any other beliefs everywhere. If he wishes to convince others, he must do so in a democratic way. To resort to

the use of force or threats if you fail to convince them, because your idea was wrong or was rejected, is a forbidden act. It is destructive and endangers democracy, and should be crushed for the benefit of the people's democracy and freedom. Everyone expresses what he wants and brings up whatever he wants in the people's congress, and he enjoys all his convictions. To resort to the secretive work because you cannot proclaim something because it is hated and rejected, thus surprising unaware people, and to seek power with which to impose your ideas, all of this is oppression, colonization, and injustice. It is imperative to eliminate the initiator because he wants to kill freedom.

I am pleased that the Libyan people have managed to recognize and confirm these facts. Another significant issue is that the Libyan people have banned the exploitation of religion. This is a very sensitive question. Religion is a metaphysical and spiritual issue related to faith in the oneness of God, metaphysics, and social behavior-namely, ethics. If we involved religion in politics, economics, power, and authority, we would be exploiting a sensitive spiritual, metaphysical, and ethical issue, and involving it in areas that are not of its nature. This a question that touches all of us. We do not allow anyone to play with our beliefs, exploit them, or form a party for them. If you want to call upon the people to adhere to religion, you can do so openly, but if you want to change the religion and become a god, you must be killed because God must remain one. If there are other gods, they must be killed. One who comes and says that fasting must go on for 40 days and not 30 must be killed because this means he is claiming to be a god and is imposing a new religion on us. As there is but one God, how could we accept him as another god alongside ours? If someone says you must pray 10 times, or carry your weights and walk for 20 km every 40 days, this is heresy. Heresy is straying from the path and the one who commits it is destined to the fire. God will send him to the fire, not us.

I, in actual fact, in the name of the popular masses members of the popular conferences and people's committees, who made this document with total freedom and without mandate or trusteeship, in the open air, and in the name of the movement of revolutionary committees—in the era which motivates these masses and instigates the masses to exercise their authority and to resist oppression and exploitation—would like to thank, in your name, all the international delegations that shared with us this noteworthy day, which has come to crown our victory over U.S. imperialism and the demolition of its five bases in our country—yesterday's anniversary. [applause] We are, in fact, very pleased and happy because we are celebrating the anniversary of our victory over U.S. imperialism and the demolition of its bases, which U.S. imperialism thought would remain forever on Libyan land. These are the same calculations U.S. imperialist policy is making today, calculations that are always wrong, as U.S. imperialist policy does not make allowances for the unknown and unseen, or the

FBIS-NES-88-113 13 June 1988

ARAB AFRICA

effectiveness of the people. U.S. imperialistic policy always thought it would stay on this land, but now we are celebrating the demolition of its bases in 1970. The United States is now very angry and wants to return to these bases. It provokes us in the Gulf of Sidra and wants to conduct exercises there because the Gulf of Sidra used to be under its control when it was semi-occupying Libya. When we became masters in Libya it denied us our right to extend our sovereignty over the Gulf of Sidra. When it used to be the master over Libya before the revolution, it used to extend its sovereignty over the Gulf of Sidra. When we demolished its bases on Libyan soil and it was forced to move them to Europe it wanted to take from us the Gulf of Sidra to cut off part of the homeland that used to be under its sovereignty.

This was exposed at the Algiers summit. In closed sessions the Arab rulers were candid with each other in an unprecedented and uncustomary way. [applause] Despite the fact that I fear for them lest harm befall them at U.S. hands, we stand by them and they should shoulder their responsibilities. It was proven to me, brothers, that there is no Arab ruler who loves the United States! [applause] Kings, presidents, princes, and sultans—some of whom were regarded as being pro-U.S.—in closed meetings were utterly critical of the U.S. [laughter and applause] It became apparent that the United States is hated even by the people whom we used to think as friends who loved it.

A speech written by King Husayn, which he personally read page by page at a secret closed session, exposed the United States. It undressed the United States, taking off even the fig leaf. [applause] King Husayn told the summit that my country is situated in the heart of the turmoil and the axis of U.S. conspiracies and moves. He added that the U.S. has no role to play in the Middle East except helping the Zionist entity, and that Arabs should not look for anything good from the United States because its only role is to support and consolidate the Zionist entity. He said the United States does not put forward peace plans or initiatives, or makes moves, unless there is danger threatening the Zionist entity, and now the U.S. secretary of state is taking action because the uprising in the occupied territories is threatening the Zionist entity. [applause and anti-U.S. cheers]

A third fact [as heard] is that the United States gives to the Zionist entity with generosity and without limit. Consequently, Arab assistance is requested for Jordan and the confrontation states which is equal to this unlimited and generous support, as he described it, of the United States for the Zionist entity.

In fact, I was surprised when I saw in the closed sessions how many Arab rulers hate the United States, how many complain about it, and the extent to which it constitutes a nightmare for them. That they look forward to being rid of this is something that bodes well. If this is the way with the rulers, then what of the sentiments of the youths, the generation of anger, and the working masses with regard to the United States?

A number of them came to me and told me: What you say openly in your official speeches is similar to what we say in our closed meetings, and here you have seen in this closed session we have agreed with you. [laughter] Indeed, there are new and young personalities who represent new blood and a fresh impetus for the collective Arab action and who have added new vitality to the summit, such as Zine El Abidine [Ben Ali, president of Tunisia], I mean the new Tunisia [applause] and the Yemens—North and South. Actually, they were a kind of youth who gave the summit a great push. [applause]

I would like to express gratitude and deep thanks, through Dr Miftah and the Permanent Secretariat of the General People's Congress, and through the general people's congresses and people's committees, for this medal, which is an honor to me and to my colleagues. [applause] I do not consider it a personal achievement, but a symbol of this great act, the triumph of freedom, and a confirmation of this historic day, more than a personal matter. However, I ask your permission to allow me to award medals to the brave and honest men, officers, soldiers, and revolutionaries [applause] who created the revolution with me, and who later fought with me in defense of this revolution until the establishment of the people's authority. We have reached the day whereby the Libyans, men and women, sit in the open air to decide their destiny and issue statements and documents of great influence for the future of all humanity. This is a great glory for the Libyan Arab people from all peoples. This stage, which was not expected by us or by the outside world, was arrived at by this great people as a result of the historic deed, the Great Al-Fatih. I did not undertake this on my own, but as the head of a movement of brave officers and valiant soldiers, and later convoys of revolutionaries and those thirsty for freedom and the defense of it who kept joining us, and those who, had they been in the Army or at the age of work at the time, would have joined the movement of the free unionist officers. [applause]

Allow me to grant medals and awards to all the men. By men, I mean everyone who walks on two feet, male or female. A guard is anyone who guards, whether male or female. If I say men, I mean both sexes, and if I say guard, I mean the same thing for the jamahiri society. Allow me to grant these men medals and awards as an extension of this medal you gave me. I have the right to give classes of it to convoys of revolutionaries who sacrificed, worked hard day and night, and stood bravely.

Brothers, always from the East comes the sun of freedom. The East is the land of inspiration, of prophets, and the birthplace of great civilizations. The poor, shepherds, desert inhabitants, and those who were evicted and tortured are the ones who afterward changed history

31

ARAB AFRICA

through their ideas and theories. As the father of history, Herodotus said: From Libya comes the new. This is something new from Libya. Forward! The struggle continues!

Al-Qadhdhafi Returns From Arab Summit in Algiers LD1006224188 Tripoli Voice of Greater Arab Homeland in Arabic 2015 GMT 10 Jun 88

[Excerpt] Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, brother leader and revolutionary, the custodian of Arab nationalism, arrived at Baninah International Airport this evening after taking part in the emergency Arab summit conference in Algiers.

The brother leader was accorded a great jamahiri welcome, during which the crowd chanted: Long live the Great Al-Fatih Revolution and its leader, expressing great pride and honor in the brother leader's ever growing and effective role on the road to Arab national unity, and in his triumph for freedom all over the world.

The brother leader was welcomed at Baninah International Airport by Colonel [rank as heard] Mustafa al-Kharrubi, inspector general of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces; the secretary and members of the General People's Committee; the secretary of the Banghazi Popular Congress; the secretaries of the popular congresses and popular committees of Banghazi; and a number of officers of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces. [passage omitted]

Anti-Israeli Egyptian Official Fired For Remarks NC1006174788 Tripoli Voice of Greater Arab Homeland in Arabic 1715 GMT 10 Jun 88

[Text] The Egyptian Foreign Ministry has dismissed Ambassador Taha al-Farnawani, director of the Palestine Department, in view of what the ministry termed his hostile statements against the Zionist enemy in occupied Palestine.

The Egyptian newspaper AL-WAFD has reported that the Zionists have sent a memorandum to the Egyptian Foreign Ministry protesting statements Al-Farnawani has made to the Egyptian and Arab press condemning the Zionist enemy.

The Egyptian Foreign Ministry noted that Al-Farnawani's statements express his own views and decided to dismiss him from his post as director of the Palestine Department, a post he has held for 7 years.

Sudan

Authorities Take Measures After Bombings JN1206125988 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1012 GMT 12 Jun 88

[Text] Khartoum, 12 Jun (SUNA)—The independant newspaper AL-AYYAM said that the security services have recently deported 20 foreigners of Arab origin whom they considered suspicious.

Citing the security forces, the newspaper said that orders had been issued to those people to leave the country immediately. Sudanese embassies abroad received orders to take certain measures in granting entry visas to Sudan. Strict measures were also taken at ports and airports to prevent the entry of any suspicious elements.

It appears that these intensified security measures were taken as a result of the Acropole Hotel and the Sudanese-British club incidents in which five people, including some foreigners, were killed.

Omdurman Says 380 Rebels Killed in Akobo Relief EA1206164188 Omdurman Domestic Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 12 Jun 88

[From Press Review]

[Text] The General Command of the People's Armed Forces has said that the Armed Forces scored a new victory yesterday over the rebel movement when the vanguards of Badr forces broke the siege which the rebels had attempted to impose on Akobo and entered the town. The statement said that our Armed Forces entered the town at 1500 the day before yesterday (10 June) after crushing the rebel groups which were concentrated in the (Kayboy) area. There was fierce fighting on 9 June which lasted for 8 hours.

The Armed Forces statement added: Our forces inflicted losses on the rebels amounting to 380 killed, including two officers with the ranks of lieutenant colonel and lieutenant. Our forces also captured 60 Kalashnikov rifles and one 82mm mortar, as well as a large quantity of ammunition yet to be counted. The command said 10 of our forces were martyred and 30 wounded.

Tunisia

Four Mosad Agents Reportedly Arrested JN1006142688 Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 8 Jun 88 pp 1, 14

[Text] Amman—AL-BAYAN has learned that the Tunisian security authorities have recently arrested four Israeli Mosad agents who were gathering information about PLO leaders in Tunisia.

Reliable Palestinian sources told AL-BAYAN that two of them admitted entering the houses of Fatah Central Committee member Hayil 'Abd al-Hamid, Alias Abu Hawl, and Palestinian Samid establishment President Ahmad Quray', Alias Abu 'Ala'.

32

ARAB AFRICA

The sources said that one member of the Mosad group was using a transparent plastic mask on the face and a wig on his head, which completely changed his complexion.

The sources said that the Tunisian and Palestinian security authorities kept the news of the arrest of the four agents secret in the hope that more of their colleagues could captured, but the Mosad discovered the arrest and refrained from sending other agents for the time being.

Doctor Advises President Ben Ali To Rest *LD1306122888 Tunis Domestic Service in Arabic 1200 GMT 13 Jun 88*

[Text] The presidency has issued the following statement: Following the intensive activity carried out by the president of the Republic recently and owing to exhaustion, his personal doctor has advised him to rest for a few days.